

Readings in Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Cooperative Security Policy

PUAF 798M
Fall 2018
Tuesday 1:00-3:30 pm
VMH 2101F

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Description

The central dilemma of the nuclear age is how to obtain the benefits but avoid the risks of an extraordinarily powerful technology when no state can control its spread nor protect itself unilaterally against attacks or accidents. Since the end of the Cold War, policymakers and security experts have continued to grapple with that question in forms compounded by proliferation, terrorism, and incentives to increase global nuclear energy use to mitigate climate change. A new nuclear arms race, or a conventional crisis that escalates into a nuclear war, now seems like a real possibility again, reviving questions about whether arms control can reduce the risks and costs of competition between the United States and a range of potential adversaries, including Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran.

At the same time, policymakers and experts have been trying to figure out what mix of unilateral action and cooperation can best address information-age problems, such as space and cyber-security. These dual-use technologies share many features with nuclear technology. They also differ in ways that make it even harder to control their spread, prevent deliberate or inadvertent misuse, and defend against attack. The space and cyber domains connect to the nuclear domain in complicated ways, too. Some see these connections as asymmetrical opportunities to gain competitive advantage. Others view them as compelling reasons to develop cooperative constraints in realms that do not seem well suited to traditional arms control.

The course begins by examining different ways of thinking about international security cooperation developed during and after the Cold War. The second part considers questions of central importance to security relations between the United States, Russia, and China, including missile defense, space security, and cybersecurity. The third part focuses on security challenges arising from the spread of powerful multi-use technologies to a much larger number of state and non-state actors. It assesses the continued viability of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in light of challenges posed by specific countries (Iran and North Korea) and the broader critique advanced by the large number of states and civil society groups who see the Nuclear Ban Treaty as a more effective way to reduce nuclear risks. It also considers what, if any, cooperative steps should be taken to address non-nuclear threats to human security, from landmines and small arms to drones and other advanced conventional weapons.

Requirements

This course is designed to help students deepen their substantive knowledge, improve their analytical and communication skills, work collaboratively, and conduct original research.

Students should prepare thoroughly, attend consistently, and participate actively in class discussions. Students will maintain the highest standards of professional behavior and will adhere to the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity (www.shc.umd.edu) at all times. Please e-mail me in advance, if possible, if you must miss class for any reason. If you must miss class more than once during the semester, please check with me regarding make-up assignments. If you must miss more than twice for medical reasons, documentation from a health care professional may be required.

Students are expected to keep abreast of current events related to the subject matter of the course and are encouraged to attend relevant events sponsored by CISSM and other UMD and DC-based organizations. Some of the CISSM forums held during lunchtime on Thursdays will be of particular relevance to this class, and students are strongly encouraged to attend. If you are not on the CISSM forum mailing list already, you can subscribe at: www.cissm.umd.edu.

The class typically also includes a field trip downtown to meet with one or more senior government official working on arms control and nonproliferation policy. I will try to arrange this trip for a Tuesday afternoon, if possible. Given the difficulties of scheduling with senior officials, though, this trip may be held outside of the normal class meeting time. If so, I will try to minimize conflicts and expect class members to attend if they possibly can.

Throughout the semester, students will conduct a policy research project on a topic of their choosing, with the final paper (5,000 words) due one week after the last class session. Grading criteria will be similar to those for 720 policy memos, but substantial independent research and original analysis will be expected:

- 1) Does it have a clear, coherent, compelling, and creative central argument?
- 2) Is that central argument well supported?
- 3) Are counter-arguments and/or alternative points of view weighed?
- 4) Are important and interesting policy implications drawn from the analysis?
- 5) Is the memo professionally written — grammatically correct, appropriate tone, fact-checked, numbered pages, etc.?

Research questions should be approved before the fourth class session (Sept 18). An analytical outline is due by the eighth session (Oct. 16). Students will give rough drafts to me and a peer editor by the thirteenth session (no later than Nov. 20), and receive feedback by the following week (NLT Nov. 27th). Students will also give class presentations during the last three weeks of the semester. The final paper is due by 5 pm one week after the last class (i.e. on Dec. 11th).

Participation	20%
Research paper analytical outline	10%
Research paper rough draft	20%
Constructive critiques	10%
Research paper presentation	15%
Final policy research paper	25%

Readings and Resources

The course relies heavily on recent articles and reports, many of which are available on the internet, and links have been provided. The remainder of the assigned readings will be placed on reserve using the Canvas system. To access these readings, go to <https://elms.umd.edu> and enter your user name and password (the same ones that you use to access your University of Maryland email account), and then click on PUA 798M. Please let me know ASAP if you have problems accessing any course readings. Depending on class interests and developments in current policy debates, I may supplement or substitute readings as the semester progresses.

Schedule and Reading Assignments

(1) Introduction (August 28)

(2) Explaining Arms Control and Nonproliferation Outcomes (Sept 4)

Understanding how well-written articles are structured will make you a more efficient reader and better writer. Please read: "Writing for International Security," at http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/156/writing_for_international_security.html

Then, apply the analytical reading summary technique I taught you to the following articles:

Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural causes and regime consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," *International Organization* 36:2 (Spring 1982), pp. 185-205.

Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* (October 1985), pp. 1-24.

Peter B. Evans, et al., eds, *Double Edged Diplomacy* (1993), "Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining," pp. 3-42.

Steven Miller, "Politics over Promise: Domestic Impediments to Arms Control," *International Security* 8:4 (Spring 1984), pp. 67-90.

Robert Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly* 32:4 (December 1988), pp. 379-396.

Emanuel Adler, "The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control" *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1, (Winter 1992), 101-145.

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: The Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security*, (Spring 2005), pp. 5-49.

(3) Global Governance or Globaloney? (Sept. 11)

Mark Bevir and Ian Hall, "The Rise of Security Governance," in *Interpreting Global Security*, ed. Mark Bevir, Oliver Daddow, and Ian Hall, New York: Routledge, 2014.

"Our Global Neighborhood," The Report of the Commission on Global Governance (1995), summary

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organizations* 53:4 (Autumn 1999), 699-732.

Ann-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1997)

Rebecca Johnson, "Lessons for Future Multilateral Security Negotiations," chapter 8 of *Unfinished Business: The Negotiation of the CTBT and the End of Nuclear Testing* (UNIDIR, 2009), at: <http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/unfinished-business-the-negotiation-of-the-ctbt-and-the-end-of-nuclear-testing-346.pdf>

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal* 51 (1999), pp. 89-101.

John Bolton, "Should We Take Global Governance Seriously?" *Chicago Journal of International Law* 205 (Fall 2000), pp. 205-221

Steven Miller, "Skepticism Triumphant: the Bush Administration and the Waning of Arms Control," prepared for *La Revue Internationale et Strategique*, (May 2003)

John Gerard Ruggie, "Global Governance and 'New Governance Theory': Lessons from Business and Human Rights," *Global Governance* 20 (2014), pp. 5-17.

Robert Orr, "Climate Change Changed," University of Maryland (November 20, 2014).

(4) Cooperative Security in Principle and in Practice (Sept 18)Research Question Due****

Ashton B. Carter, William J. Perry, and John D. Steinbruner, "A New Concept of Cooperative Security," Brookings Occasional Paper (1992)

Antonia Handler Chayes and Abram Chayes, "Regime Architecture: Elements and Principles," pp. 65–130 in Janne Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement* (Brookings, 1994)

Ashton B. Carter and William Perry, *Preventive Defense* (Brookings, 1999), Chap 1 and 2.

Sharon Weiner, "The Evolution of CTR," *The Nonproliferation Review* 16:2 (June 2009), pp. 211-235.

Matthew Bunn and Dmitry Kovchegin, “Nuclear Security in Russia: Can Progress be Sustained?” *Nonproliferation Review* (May 2018)

(5) Should arms control with Russia be saved? (Sept 25)

Remarks by President Barack Obama, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3119179-2009-Obama-Prague-Speech.html>

Celeste Wallander, “Mutually Assured Stability: Establishing US-Russia Security Relations for a New Century,” *Atlantic Council* (July 2013) at:

<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/issue-briefs/mutually-assured-stability-establishing-us-russia-security-relations-for-a-new-century>.

Nancy Gallagher, “Re-Thinking the Unthinkable: Arms Control in the Twenty-first Century,” *The Nonproliferation Review* 22:3-4 (2015), pp. 469-498.

Alexei Arbatov, “An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control?” Carnegie Moscow Center (June 2015), at:

http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Arbatov2015_n_web_Eng.pdf.

Office of the Secretary of Defense, Nuclear Posture Review, February 2018, Executive Summary: <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-NUCLEAR-POSTURE-REVIEW-FINAL-REPORT.PDF>

Olga Oliker and Andrey Baklitsky, “The Nuclear Posture Review and Russian ‘De-Escalation:’ a Dangerous Solution to a Nonexistent Problem,” *War on the Rocks*, February 20, 2018, at: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/nuclear-posture-review-russian-de-escalation-dangerous-solution-nonexistent-problem/>.

“Urgent Steps to Avoid a New Nuclear Arms Race and Dangerous Miscalculation,” Statement by the Deep Cuts Commission, April 18, 2018, at:

https://www.armscontrol.org/sites/default/files/files/documents/DCC_1804018_FINAL.pdf.

Greg Thielmann and Andrei Zagorski, “INF Treaty Compliance: A Challenge and an Opportunity,” *Deep Cuts Working Paper* 9 (February 2017) at:

http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/DeepCuts_WP9_ThielmannZagorski.pdf.

Kevin Ryan, “After the INF Treaty: An Objective Look at US and Russian Compliance, Plus a New Arms Control Regime,” December 7, 2017, at:

<https://www.russiamatters.org/analysis/after-inf-treaty-objective-look-us-and-russian-compliance-plus-new-arms-control-regime>.

Adam Mount, “Anticipatory Arms Control,” *Deep Cuts Working Paper* 7 (June 2016) at: http://deepcuts.org/images/DeepCuts_WP6_Mount.pdf

Pavel Podvig, “Stability and Nuclear Risk Reduction in U.S.-Russian Relations,” Discussion Paper for a Track II Dialogue on U.S.-Russian Crisis Stability, at: <https://www.csis.org/programs/russia-and-eurasia-program/us-russia-crisis-stability-results-track-ii-dialogue>.

Lukasz Kulesa, “Envisioning a Russia-NATO Conflict: Implications for Deterrence Stability,” European Leadership Network (February 2018), at: <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/180213-Envisioning-a-Russia-NATO-Conflict.pdf>.

Rachael Gosnell, “Preventing Dangerous Military Incidents in Peacetime,” Discussion Paper for a Track II Dialogue on U.S.-Russian Crisis Stability, at: <https://www.csis.org/programs/russia-and-eurasia-program/us-russia-crisis-stability-results-track-ii-dialogue>.

Wolfgang Richter, “Return to Security Cooperation in Europe: The Stabilizing Role of Conventional Arms Control,” Deep Cuts Working Paper 11 (September 2017), at: http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/DeepCuts_WP11_Richter.pdf

(6) China (Oct 2)

Li Bin, “Differences between Chinese and U.S. Nuclear Thinking and their Origins,” in Li Bin and Tong Zhao, *Understanding Chinese Nuclear Thinking* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2016), pp. 3-18, at: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/ChineseNuclearThinking_Final.pdf.

Li Bin and Nie Hongyi, “An Investigation of U.S.–China Strategic Stability,” translation by Gregory Kulacki, (May 22, 2009) <http://www.ucsus.org/assets/documents/nwgs/Summary-of-Li-Nie-paper-5-22-09.pdf>.

James B. Steinberg, “Administration’s Vision of the U.S.-China Relationship,” Keynote Address at the Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2009, at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/d/former/steinberg/remarks/2009/169332.htm>

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang, “Keynote Address” to the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Chatham House, London, June 18, 2014, at: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/event/keynote-address-chinese-premier-li-keqiang>.

Lora Saalman, “China and the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (February 2011), pp. 1–39, at: http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/china_posture_review.pdf.

Lora Saalman, “Placing a Renminbi Sign on Strategic Stability and Nuclear Reductions,” in Elbridge Colby and Michael Gerson, eds, *Strategic Stability: Contending Interpretations* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute and Army War College Press, 2013), pp. 343-381.

M. Taylor Fravel and Christopher Twomey, “Projecting Strategy: the Myth of Chinese Counter-Intervention,” *The Washington Quarterly* 37:4 (Winter 2015), pp. 171-187, at: https://taylorfravel.com/documents/research/fravel_twomey.2015.TQW.china.counterintervention.pdf.

Gregory Kulacki, “China’s Military Calls for Putting its Nuclear Forces on Alert,” Union of Concerned Scientists, (January 2016), at: <https://www.ucsusa.org/sites/default/files/attach/2016/02/China-Hair-Trigger-full-report.pdf>

Tong Zhao and Li Bin, “The Underappreciated Risks of Entanglement: A Chinese Perspective,” in James Acton, ed., *Entanglement* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017), at: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Entanglement_interior_FNL.pdf.

(7) Missile Defense – An Obstacle or Opportunity for Cooperation? (Oct 9)

George Lewis and Frank Von Hippel, “Limitations on ballistic missile defense – Past and possibly future,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 74:4 (June 2018).

Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, “National Missile Defense and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy,” *International Security* 26:1 (Summer 2001), pp. 40-92.

Arms Control Association, “U.S. Missile Defense Programs at a Glance,” Fact Sheet: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/usmissiledefense>.

George N. Lewis, “Technical Controversy: Can Missile Defense Work?” pp. 63–83 in Catherine McArdle Kelleher and Peter Dombrowski, eds., *Regional Missile Defense from a Global Perspective* (Stanford University Press 2015).

Frank Rose, “The Role of Missile Defense in Homeland and Regional Security,” Peter Huessy Lecture Series, The Capitol Hill Club, Washington, DC, July 24, 2015, at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/avc/rls/2015/245251.htm>.

Vladimir Dvorkin, “Postcrisis Perspectives: The Prospects for Cooperation among the United States, NATO, and Russia on Ballistic Missile Defense,” pp. 121–136 in Kelleher and Dombrowsky.

James E. Goodby and Theodore A. Postol, “A new boost-phase missile defense system—and its diplomatic uses in the North Korean dispute,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 74:4 (June 2018).

Trump administration missile defense review (if available)

David Wright, “How to Think about Space-based Missile Defense,” *All Things Nuclear*, August 22, 2018, <https://allthingsnuclear.org/dwright/space-based-missile-defense>

(8) Space Security (Oct 16) Guest Speaker: Theresa Hitchens

David Wright, Laura Grego, and Lisbeth Gronlund, *The Physics of Space Security*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, (2005), pp. 1-18, at: http://www.amacad.org/publications/Physics_of_Space_Security.pdf.

Nancy Gallagher and John D. Steinbruner, *Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, (2008), at: http://www.amacad.org/publications/space_security.pdf.

Amb. Roger G. Harrison, et al., "Space Deterrence: the Delicate Balance of Risk," *Space and Defense* 3:1 (September 2009), pp. 1-30.

U.S. National Space Policy, August 31, 2006, unclassified summary.

U.S. National Space Policy, June 28, 2010, at: https://www.nasa.gov/sites/default/files/national_space_policy_6-28-10.pdf.

Draft Treaty on the Prevention of the Placement of Weapons in Outer Space, the Threat or Use of Force against Space Objects (updated Russian and Chinese proposal, 6-16-2014) at: http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zizj_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/t1165762.shtml.

"Draft International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities," European Union External Action Service, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/non-proliferation-and-disarmament/pdf/space_code_conduct_draft_vers_31-march-2014_en.pdf.

Joan Johnson-Freese, "U.S. China relations: The Hypocrisy of Rules," *The Diplomat* (February 22, 2015), <https://thediplomat.com/2015/02/u-s-china-relations-the-hypocrisy-of-rules/>.

Theresa Hitchens and Joan Johnson-Freese, "Toward a New National Security Space Strategy: Time for a Strategic Rebalancing?" Atlantic Council Strategy Paper (June 2016), http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/AC_StrategyPapers_No5_Space_WEB1.pdf.

Marcia Smith, "White House releases Fact Sheet on New National Space Strategy," *Space Policy On-line* (March 24, 2018) at: <https://spacepolicyonline.com/news/white-house-releases-fact-sheet-on-new-national-space-strategy/>

Theresa Hitchens, "Forwarding Multilateral Space Governance: Next Steps for the International Community," *CISSM Working Paper* (September 2018), at: <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/forwarding-multilateral-space-governance-next-steps-international-community>

(9) Nonproliferation, Nuclear Security, or Nuclear Prohibition (Oct 23) *Analytical Outline Due*

A useful reference that provides a very broad overview and assessment of global nuclear governance efforts is: Gareth Evans, Tanya Ogilvie-White, and Ramesh Thakur, *Nuclear Weapons: The State of Play 2015* (Australian National University: Centre for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament), at: <https://cnnd.crawford.anu.edu.au/publication/cnnd/5328/nuclear-weapons-state-play-2015>.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/text>

World Nuclear Association, “The Nuclear Fuel Cycle,” (June 2011): <http://www.world-nuclear.org/information-library/nuclear-fuel-cycle/introduction/nuclear-fuel-cycle-overview.aspx>

Matthew Bunn, “How IAEA Safeguards Work,” July 8, 2009 Managing the Atom Project Presentation

Rebecca Johnson, “Assessing the 2010 NPT Review Conference,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (July/Aug 2010), at: http://www.acronym.org.uk/npt/2010_NPT_REJ_Bulletin_07.10.pdf.

Christopher Ford, “Assessing the NPT Debates so Far,” New Paradigms Forum, May 24, 2010, at: <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=254>.

Jeffrey Knopf, “Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Examining the Linkages Argument,” *International Security* 37:3 (Winter 2012/2013), pp. 92-132

James Acton, “Bombs Away,” *The Washington Quarterly* 35:2 (Spring 2012), at: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/12spring_acton.pdf

“Spanning the NPT Divide” — perspectives from Jayantha Dhanapala, Sergio Duarte, Henk Cor van der Kwast, Andrey Baklitskiy, and Beatrice Fihn, *Arms Control Today* (July/August 2015), pp. 8–22.

Kelsey Davenport, “The Nuclear Security Summit at a Glance,” Arms Control Association Fact Sheet (updated August 2017) at: <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/NuclearSecuritySummit>,

Chris Ford, “NPT Wisdom for a New Disarmament Discourse,” remarks to Ploughshares Fund “Nuclear Weapons Policy in a Time of Crisis Conference, Washington, DC, October 26, 2017 at: http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?page_id=1628.

Question: Is the world doing enough of the right things to prevent proliferation and nuclear terrorism?

(10) Implementing the Nuclear Deal with Iran (Oct 30)

National Intelligence Estimate: “Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities,” (November 2007), http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/international/20071203_release.pdf

Shahram Chubin, “Is Iran a Military Threat?” *Survival* 56:2 (April-May 2014), pp. 65-88.

Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Vienna, July 14, 2015 (158 pp)
<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>

John Kerry, “Remarks on Nuclear Agreement with Iran,” Philadelphia, September 2, 2015, at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/09/246574.htm>

Steven Kull and Nancy Gallagher, “Assessing the Iran Nuclear Deal,” CISSM and VOP, (September 2015), at:
http://www.cissm.umd.edu/sites/default/files/Assessing_the_Iran_Deal_Report.pdf

Gary Saymore, et al., “The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide,” Belfer Center, Harvard University (August 2015),
<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IranDealDefinitiveGuide.pdf>.

Remarks by President Trump on Iran Strategy, October 13, 2017, at:
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-iran-strategy/>

(11) Cooperation to Enhance Cybersecurity (Nov. 6)

(background: David Clark, Thomas Berson, and Herbert S. Lin, eds., *At the Nexus of Cybersecurity and Public Policy: Some Basic Concepts and Issues*, (National Academies of Sciences, 2014) at: <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IF/IF02/20150303/103079/HHRG-114-IF02-20150303-SD006.pdf>.)

Joseph Nye, “Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace,” *International Security* 41:3 (Winter 2016/2017), pp. 44-71.

Charles Harry and Nancy Gallagher, “An Effects-Centric Approach to Assessing Cybersecurity Risk,” forthcoming.

Michael Vatis, “The Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime,” in *Proceedings of a Workshop on Deterring Cyberattacks*, National Research Council, 2010, pp. 207-23.

“International Code for Information Security” submitted by China, Russia, and other countries to the 2011 U.N. General Assembly at:
http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zjig_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/t858978.shtml

Thomas Remington, et al, “Toward U.S.-Russia Bilateral Cooperation in the Sphere of Cybersecurity,” Working Group Paper 7 (May 2016) <https://us->

russiafuture.org/publications/working-group-papers/toward-u-s-russia-bilateral-cooperation-in-the-sphere-of-cybersecurity/

Jon R. Lindsay, "The Impact of China on Cybersecurity," *International Security* 39:3 (Winter 2014/15), pp. 7-47.

Martha Finnemore and Duncan Hollis, "Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity," *The American Journal of International Law* 110:3 (July 2016), pp. 425-9 and 436-79.

Theresa Hitchens and Nancy Gallagher, "Building Confidence in the Cybersphere: a Path to Multilateral Progress," CISSM Working Paper (July 2018)
<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/building-confidence-cybersphere-path-multilateral-progress>.

(12) CISSM-ISKRAN workshop (Nov 13 – all day)

(13) North Korea (Nov. 20) ** Rough Draft Due**

Zack Beauchamp, "A brief history of North Korea's nuclear program and the failed US campaign to stop it," *Vox* January 7, 2016: <https://www.vox.com/2016/1/7/10729960/north-korea-nuclear-program-history>.

Daryl Kimball, "The U.S.-North Korea Summit and Beyond," Arms Control Association Issue Brief, June 8, 2018:
<https://www.armscontrol.org/issue-briefs/2018-06/us-north-korean-summit-beyond>.

David Kang, "Why Should North Korea Give Up its Nuclear Weapons?" *The New York Times*, August 22, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/22/opinion/north-korea-nuclear-trump.html>.

Bruce Klingner, "U.S. Should Not Sign a Peace Declaration with North Korea," The Heritage Foundation, September 18, 2018, <https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/IB4902.pdf>.

(14) Human Security (Nov 27) ** Constructive Critiques due **

Roland Parris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, 26:2, (Fall 2001) pp. 87-102. <http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~rparis/Paris.2001.IS.Human%20Security.pdf>
<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~rparis/Paris.2001.IS.Human%20Security.pdf>

Denise Garcia, "Humanitarian Security Regimes"
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_publication_docs/INTA_91_1_04_Garcia.pdf
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_publication_docs/INTA91_1_04_Garcia.pdf

S. Neil Yuen Foong Khong, *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 142-201)

https://zodml.org/sites/default/files/%5BS._Neil_MacFarlane%5D_Human_Security_And_the_UN_A_.pdf

Arms Trade Treaty, as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly:

[http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/docs/ATT_text_\(As_adopted_by_the_GA\)-E.pdf](http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/docs/ATT_text_(As_adopted_by_the_GA)-E.pdf)

“Presidential Policy Directive -- United States Conventional Arms Transfer Policy”

January 15, 2014:

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/15/presidential-policy-directive-united-states-conventional-arms-transfer-p>

Trump administration policy on conventional arms transfers:

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/national-security-presidential-memorandum-regarding-u-s-conventional-arms-transfer-policy/>

Jeff Abramson, “Trump Administration Favors Arms Industry in Effort to Loosen Export Controls,” Arms Control Association Issue Brief (June 7, 2018),

<https://www.armscontrol.org/issue-briefs/2018-06/trump-favors-arms-industry-effort-loosen-export-controls>.

Future Challenges (Dec 4) Guest: Nancy Hayden, Sandia National Laboratory